China and Japan.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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FRANK PENMAN IN LONDON.

"Have you heard that the International Socialist Club is shut up?" asked Miss Mayence.

Frank Penman uttered an unexpansive "Yes," but Bistre wanted to know all particulars; why and when and the manner of the closing; Bistre always wanted to know. While Miss Mayence talked, his eyes were scanning the walls of Lyons' Corner House, the gilded Greek pattern up aloft, the waitresses in their black dresses and white caps, and aprons with crossed shoulder straps, who seemed, in the great, brilliantly-lighted hall, as though they had been posed for effect, like the chorus on the music hall stage.

"Mrs. Burden told me the brokers are in, and everything will be sold. It is a pity it has come to an end; isn't it?" said Miss Mayence.

"I am not sure that it is," answered Penman, remembering, vividly, that Saturday of his disappointment which had deterred him from throwing himself unreservedly into the movement.

"Why?" asked Miss Mayence.

"You haven't been there; have you?"

"No."

"I thought not," said Penman, heavily.

Miss Mayence turned to Bistre:

"Are you reading Mrs. Asquith's diary?"

"Yes. It is good. She can write. She is a person who thinks."

"But she is conceited: she is always talking about herself; she has an inordinate idea of her own importance and the importance of her set. She never forgets that for a moment. Do you remember, she says: 'We certainly have a double dose of life and a great deal of truthfulness'?"

"Oh, yes, she is conceited; but she has vitality. Her diary is evidently a diary, because it has a minuteness that shows it was written at the time. It is instinct with a joyfulness, a zest in living. She must have had a considerable healthiness of mind to have written as she did in those days."

"Perhaps"—Miss Mayence was thoughtful and doubtful: "What she says about her canvassing experiences is interesting. In a way, it is not like her to have been so much impressed by the workers she canvassed, because she is so certain that the people of her own set are the only people who matter; but it is an evidence of that zest in life you speak of. I agree she has that—a sort of eager appreciation. You remember how she says: 'It is the best of experience to come into contact with the marrow of the common people.' She suggests that if some of her women acquaintances could have the experience, it would put their own insignificant experiences into proper perspective and stop them hurling complaints at a society they do nothing to influence, and being spectators of the sufferings of a class about whom they neither feel nor care; one feels that those criticisms might aptly be applied to herself. The glimpse of perspective she had then seems to have been immediately obliterated. One wonders that, being capable of such reflections, she was able to remain all immersed in the littleness of Parliamentary politics and to devote her life to a succession of small talk. I suppose it would have been terribly difficult to uproot herself; but I do not think she wanted to: I think she was perfectly satisfied to be an admirer of the little great men who were thought tremendous statesmen in those days. She admits that Gladstone's enemies said he would 'leave no particular heritage.' One feels she knows it is true, but she calls him a 'magnificent exception,' and says he had 'vibrations in his brain.' She seems to have thought all the political leaders of her time, in both parties, were wonderful men. I do not think she had much opinion of the women. She, herself, seems to have monopolised all the attention she had to spare for women. She suggests that all the front bench politicians on both sides were circling around her, and that she was a magnetic centre of interest."

"I think it is true," Bistre answered. "In my opinion, her writings will live because they give a vivid and, I believe, truthful portrayal of the political society of her time. There is an amazing shallowness about political life."

"It is strange," mused Miss Mayence, "that, during the time Asquith was Prime Minister, the Press represented her purely as a frivolous woman who bought her clothes in Paris; yet now she is made famous as a critic of contemporary society."

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"Yes, it is strange," agreed Bistre; "but her comments are intelligent."

"I think you over-rate her. Just a few things she wrote impressed me; they were, some of them, other people's sayings; but I give her credit for discerning them amongst the mist of daily small talk. One of these is John Morley's saying: '*There was only one thing we should attempt, and which if we could attain, would bring everything else in its train—and that was pity.*'

"Another is her own:

"'*Carlyle talks of divine discontent; but I prefer the serene fool who enjoys life, to the aspiring person who succumbs to it.*'

"It is cruel. I rather think it betrays that she is a selfish-spirited creature; but it is clever.

"Her observation: '*We were hotly cheered, which is pleasing and deceptive, as half the cheerers are inquisitive women, little boys, or men who have no vote,*' shows that she was at once shrewd and shallow; she likes the cheers, but she is not too foolish to know they are meaningless. I like her description of the 'hearty faces of the mourners bursting forth out of the funeral coaches to cheer the Liberals,' and her observation: '*This reminded me of a page of Dickens, illustrated by Cruikshank.*' Wouldn't you like to draw it?" Miss Mayence turned to Penman.

"It is amusing," he answered; but I have not read Mrs. Asuith. She sounds more interesting than I expected, from what you say."

"Yes, she is good," said Bistre.

"You would not like her." Miss Mayence asserted. "She is picturesque, though I find her tedious at times. I do not think I could wade through a whole book of her reminiscences at a stretch, because at their best they are a mass of flippancies and superficialities."

"She says of her canvassing:

"'*A stony stare of indifference greeted me wherever I went at first, but, by dint of lively talk, trifling but sympathetic questions, and taking trouble, I made a little headway.*'

"Lively and trifling,' that aptly describes her diary. Wedged in among the heavy superficialities of *The Times* leader page, it strikes one as vivacious and sparkling, but it is so thin; there is so little real sense or depth in it, that you would scacely have a good word to say for it if you read it in a book. Of course, this diary will be popular, just like her last, because it is full of gossip about people everyone has heard of, because it will be much puffed in the Press and because she is the wife of an ex-Premier and an intimate of all the so-called great people she writes of.

"I do not say there is no cleverness in the book. Considering she has nothing whatever to say; considering she has not a serious or new idea in her head, I think she makes it quite readable—in parts it is really quite smart, but there is nothing more in it than the snapping of the castanets, and the paint on the cheeks of the chorus girls in the latest revue, or the ladies at the races."

"Why should you expect more of her?" asked Frank Penman. "As Bistre says, there is a remarkable shallowness about political life."

"I know," said Miss Mayence; "in politics, thought is the greatest danger; it may prevent one from remaining always obedient to the Party."

"You may observe,' interposed Bistre, his glance roving about the people at the tables, "the only thing read here, except the newspaper is the novelette—not the book—the novelette. It must be a story about Love, only—nothing to think."

"Don't they like murder stories?"

"Not really—not murder as it is. There has been no much-read novel published about the War in England. In France there have been several; but here not one; here they want to forget it."

"That would be a pleasant reason," said Miss Mayence; "but I do not know that it is the true reason, why there has been no outstanding English war novel. Perhaps it is because whoever might have written it, knew that here the publishers and the public are too conventionally 'patriotic' to be willing to read the truth on that subject. Perhaps, in ten years or so, the popular war novel may appear."

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COMMUNISM AND ITS TACTICS.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

IV.

We have seen that the Soviets are destined both to provide the organisational machinery of Communist society and to act as the instrument of the proletarian dictatorship during the traditional period in which, whilst capitalism has been overthrown, the dispossessed owners have not yet settled down to accept the new order. The Soviets may also conduct the fight for the actual overthrow of capitalism, though in Russia the power was actually seized by the Bolshevik Party; then handed to the Soviets.

Let us consider the essential structure of the Soviet, its particular characteristic, wherein lies its special fitness to function as the administrative machinery of the Communist community.

The Soviet is constructed along the lines of production and distribution; it replaces not merely Parliament and the present local governing bodies, but also the capitalists, managerial staffs and employees of to-day with all their ramifications. The functional units of the Soviets are the groups of workers of all grades, including those engaged in management in the factory, the dockyard, the mine, the farm, the warehouse, the office, the distributive store, the school, the hospital, the printing shop, the laundry, the restaurant, and the domestic workers in the communal household, the street or block of dwellings.

The generally accepted theoretical structure of the Soviet community is as follows:

INDUSTRIAL CO-ORDINATION.

The Workshop Committee: comprising all the workers in the shop.

The Factory Committee: comprising delegates from the Workshop Committees.

The District Committee: comprising delegates from the factory or sub-district committees of the workers in the industry, and from district committees of distributive workers engaged in distributing the products of the industry.

The National Committee: composed of delegates from district committees.

INTER-INDUSTRIAL CO-ORDINATION.

District and Sub-District Committees: delegates from district or sub-district committees of industries (including factories, docks, farms, laundries, restaurants, centres of distribution, schools, domestic workers, parks, theatres, etc., workers in all branches of social activity being represented).

National Committee: comprising delegates of district committees of all industries and works of social activity.

Thus there is a dual machinery: 1. For the organisation and co-ordination of each industry and social activity; 2. for the linking together of all industries and social activities.

The network of committees of delegates which makes up the framework of the Soviets and links the many productive groups, and also individual producers should not be regarded as a rigid cast-iron machinery, but as a convenient means of transacting necessary business, a practical method of inter-organisation which gives everyone the opportunity of a voice in social management. The members of a community are dependent upon each other. The cotton spinning mill is operated by a number of groups of workers practising various crafts. The workers in the spinning mill are dependent for the execution of their work on the cotton growers, the railwaymen, the mariners, and the dockers, who provide them with the raw material of their trade. They are dependent on machine makers, miners, electricians and others for the machinery of spinning and the power to run it, and on the weaver, the bleacher, the dyer, the printer, the garment worker and upholsterer to complete the work they have begun. In order that the spinners may do their work they are also dependent on builders, decorators, furniture makers, food producers, garment makers, and innumerable others whose labours are necessary to maintain them in health and efficiency.

At present it is the employer who directs, the merchant who co-ordinates and distributes social production. When capitalism is destroyed another medium of direction, co-ordination and distribution must be discovered, the productive processes must not fall into chaos. The Soviets will supply the necessary medium of co-ordination and direction; but they must become a medium of convenience, not of compulsion; otherwise there can be no genuine Communism.

In Russia the Soviet constitution has only been very partially applied, and has not been theoretically regular in structure, and is still constantly subject to large modifications.

The Russian Soviets had not been created in advance in preparation for the revolution of March, 1917; they sprang into life in the time of crisis. They had arisen in the revolution of 1905, but had died away at its fall. The March, 1917, revolution only created Soviets in a few centres, and though their number grew and was added to by the November Bolshevik Revolution, even yet the network of Soviets is incomplete. Kameneff, reporting on this question to the seventh all-Russian Congress of Soviets in 1920, stated that even where Soviets existed, their general assemblies were often rare, and when held, frequently only listened to a few speeches and dispersed without transacting any real business.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government has claimed that the number of Soviets actually functioning has grown continuously; yet it freely admits that the Soviets have taken neither so active nor so responsible a part as they should in the creation and management of the new community. Russia's "new economic policy" of reversion to capitalism strikes at the root of the Soviet idea and destroys the functional status of the Soviets.

Russia's special difficulties in applying the Soviet system were inherent in the backward state of the country which had only partially progressed from feudalism into capitalism. In industry the small home producer still accounted for 60 per cent. of Russia's industrial production. In agriculture the peasants had not yet been divorced from the land as is the case in England, where we have long had a completely landless class of rural workers. In Russia the ideal of the land worker was to produce for himself on his own holding and to sell his products, not to work in co-operation with others. The Russian peasants, vastly out-numbering the rest of the population, were all but unanimous in their demands. Those who had no land were determined to get a piece for themselves, and those who had a little piece of land wanted more. Though their individualism was tempered by the old custom of periodically re-dividing the land and other village traditions, the peasants were an influence against Communism. Nevertheless, their ancient village council, the Mir, a survival from the period of primitive Communism, had somewhat prepared them for the Soviets.

In the scattered village communities the occupational character of the Soviet is apparently somewhat merged in the territorial; yet all the subsidiary crafts of the villages are attendant on the great industry of agriculture. Ties of common interest and mutual dependence, which are the life-blood of the Soviet, are clearly apparent between the land workers and the various craftsmen of the village. The blurring of the occupational character of the village Soviet does not detract from its function of an administrative unit in harmony with the actual conditions of the country. On the other hand, the fact that the town Soviets could not supply it with the industrial products it needed, by weakening the link of mutual usefulness, making the usefulness merely one-sided, removed the natural impetus of the Soviets of the villages to link themselves for utilitarian reasons with the Soviets of the towns. Production by individual producers who are competing with each other creates sources of conflict which are antagonistic to the Soviet. The strongest and most useful Soviet must always be that which is formed of those who are working together and who realise at every turn that they are dependent on each other. The necessity for the Soviet becomes more pronounced, and its work more varied the more that work is carried on in common and the more closely the lives of the people are related to each other. Mankind is gregarious; the degree of gregariousness in human beings is partly dependant on material conditions, partly on inclination (which is doubtless largely, if not wholly, the slow product of long environment). As humanity secures a completer mastery over matter, individual choice as to how life shall be spent, becomes broader and more free; science will more and more enable desire to determine the degree of industrial concentration. Our civilisation has perhaps nearly reached the limit of the tendency to gather together ever greater and greater numbers of workers, performing some tiny mechanical operation as attendants to machinery. Perhaps the future has in store for us an entirely opposite development. That would not effect the fact that the Soviet must find its most congenial soil in a society based on mutual aid and mutual dependence.

In the industrial centres where it might have been expected that the occupational basis of the Soviet would have been adhered to, the structure of the Russian Soviets was irregular from the theoretical standpoint. The Soviets, instead of being formed purely of workers in the various industries and activities of the community, were composed also of delegates of political parties, political groups formed by foreigners in Russia Trades Councils, Trade Unions and co-operative societies. *Pravda* of April 18th, 1918, published the following regulations for the Moscow Soviet elections:—

"*Regulations for Representation.*

"Establishments employing 200 to 500 workers, one representative; those employing over 500, send one representative for every 500 men. Establishments employing less than 200 workers, combine for purpose of representation with other small establishments.

"Ward Soviets send two deputies, elected at a plenary session.

"Trade Unions with a membership not exceeding 2,000, send one deputy; not exceeding 5,000, two deputies; above 5,000, one for every 5,000 workers, but not more than ten deputies for any one union.

"The Moscow Trades' Council sends five deputies.

"Political parties send 30 deputies to the Soviet: the seats are allotted to the parties in proportion to their membership, providing the parties include four representatives of industrial establishments and organised workers.

"Representatives of the following National non-Russian Socialist parties, one representative per party, are allotted seats:—

(a) "Bund" (Jewish).
(b) Polish Socialist Party (Left).
(c) Polish and Lithuanian Social Democratic Parties.
(d) Lettish Social Democratic Party.
(e) Jewish Social Democratic Party."

The intention in giving representation to these various interests was, of course, to disarm their antagonism to the Soviet Power and to secure their co-operation instead; but the essential administrative character of the Soviets was thereby sacrificed. Constituted thus they must inevitably discuss political antagonisms rather than the production and distribution of social utilities and amenities.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO.

VI.

Now to return to the analysis of the new tendency in social research:

The 17th and 18th centuries witnessed an attempt resolving into causes, into factors and into logical and psychological data the multiform and often obscure spectacle of a life in which was preparing the greatest revolution ever known. Under all all the doctrines then advanced is found as stimulus and motive the material and moral needs of the approaching bourgeoisie.

The struggle of the bourgeoisie against the restrictions and fetters of the old order—Church, State, castes and guilds—and its need of having man and nature freely placed at its disposal for exploitation, found its reflex in the ideology of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

"The fact that all society was entering upon an acute crisis, its horrors at the antique, at what was superannated, at what was traditional and had been organised for centuries, and the presentiment of a renovation of all human life, finally produced a total eclipse of the idea of historic necessity and social necessity. Man was studied in an abstract fashion, that is to say, individuals taken separately, emancipated and delivered by a logical abstraction from their historic connection and from every social necessity. The concept of society was only the sum of the individuals composing it.

"The approaching reign of liberty was before the eyes of all a certain event, provided they could suppress the bonds and fetters which forced ignorance and the despotism of the Church and State had imposed upon men, good by nature. These fetters did not appear to be conditions and boundaries within which men were bound by the laws of their development, and by the effect of the antagonistic and thus uncertain and tortuous movement of history, but simply obstacles from which the methodical use of reason was to deliver us."

But the hard reality taught otherwise; the facts of life proved to be entirely out of harmony with the ideas of the 18th century philosophers.

The French Revolution and the reign of the bourgeoisie which it ushered in, solved the antithesis of the old order but had engendered new and greater antitheses, among them the most acute antithesis of all history—the existing anarchy of production in the whole of society and an iron despotism in the mode of production in each workshop and each factory. The hierarchy of Feudalism was replaced by the bureacracy of the bourgeois State; the liberty resolved itself into the liberty of the bourgeoisie to exploit the masses; the equality—into the power of the bourgeoisie to oppress the proletariat.

The saddest disillusion arose, and a radical upheaval followed in the minds of men. The first reaction to the consequences of the new life manifested itself in that criticism of society which is the first step in all sciences. It was necessary, before else, to overthrow the ideology which had accumulated and had expressed itself in so many doctrines of the "Natural Right," or the "Social Contract." It was necessary to get into contact with the facts which the rapid events of so intensive a process imposed upon the attention in forms so new and startling. Here the Utopians, referred to in the early part of the essay, performed a most useful function. Fantastic and Utopian as the various brands of Socialism, which then ripened, may have been, they served, nevertheless, as an immediate and often salutary criticism of economics—a one-sided criticism, indeed, which lacked the scientific complement of a general historical conception.

All these forms of criticism, partial, one-sided and incomplete, had their culmination in scientific Socialism. This was no longer a subjective criticism applied to things, but the discovery of the self-ccritism which is in the things themselves. The real criticism of society itself, which, by the anti'hetic conditions of the contrasts upon which it rests, engenders from itself, within itself, the contradiction, and finally triumphs over this by its passage into a new form.

(to be continued.)

AN ESPERANTO PRIMER.

ERRATUM.

In the preceding lesson (IV.) at the eleventh line, read "Cu ŝi venos," instead of "Cu si venos."

Lesson V.

Nun ni nombru kaj kalculu. *Now let us count and calculate.* (The word "let," here used in English, is not in the Esperanto; a proper translation of the Imperative would be "Now count we and calculate," as in old English.)

Unu, du, tri, kvar, kvin: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Ses, sep, ok, naŭ, dek: 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

The little mark over the U is to show that the U is not a syllable apart from the A, Naŭ is pronounced Now.

Dek unu, dek du, dek tri: 11, 12, 13.

Dudek, dudek unu, dudek du: 20, 21, 22.

Tridek, tridek unu, tridek du: 30, 31, 32, and so on.

Cent, cent unu, cent dudek unu: 100, 101, 121.

Mil, dekmil, kvardekmil: 1,000, 10,000, 40,000.

Naŭmil okcent kvindek du:: 9,852.

These numbers do not take the plural J or the accusative N, except UNU; UNUJ means *some*. Miliono, *a million*, is a noun.

The ordinal numbers: Unua, *first*, dua tria, kvara, *second, third, fourth*; deka, dek-una, dek-dua, *tenth, eleventh, twelfth*, are simply the cardinal numbers with A added to make them adjectives.

Notice that ordinal numbers are united by hyphens, la cent-dudek-tria fojo. the hundred and twenty-third time.

They can be made into adverbs by substituting E for A: Unue, due, trie, *firstly, secondly, thirdly.*

Nouns can also be made, if required, by substituting O: unuo, *a unit*, duo, *a duet*, trio, *a trio*, kvardeko, *a score.*

OBL makes them into multiples: duobla, *a double*, duoble, *doubly*, douobli, *to double*; you have thus, adjectives, nouns, adverbs and verbs.

To express fractions, the suffix ON is used: duona, *half*, duono, *a half*, duoni, *to halve*, triono, *a third*, trione, *thirdly*, dekono, *a tenth or tithe*, kvin dekonoj, *five-tenths*, tri kvaronoj, *three-quarters.*

Every numerical combination is thus quite simple.

EXERCISE.

Li duoblis la monaferon (*subscription*).

Ni duonos la profitojn (*profits*).

Mi havas du fratinojn kaj unu fraton.

Mi amas havi unujn amikojn (*friends*).

Ni nombris kvin birdojn, sed nun vi vidas nur (*only*) tri.

Vidu patrino, estas en la ĝardeno kvar katoj.

Jes, filo, ili venas tro ofte (*often*) mi ĝin malamas. (Ami, means *to like*, as well as *to love.*)

Mi kalkulas ke (*that*) dek unu kaj tridek sep faras (*make*) kvardek ok.

Ĉu vi nombris pli ol cent kokinojn en la korto (*yard*)?

La unua fojo ke mi venis mi vidis malgrandan knabinon, nun mi trovas (*find*) grandan virinon. (Viro is *a man*, we have seen how the feminine is formed.)

Dudek estas la duoblo de dek.

Ses estas la duono de dek du, kaj la triono de dek ok, kaj la kvarono de dudek kvar.

Ni trovis ĵin post (*after*) la tria vizito (*visit*) Hodiaŭ (*to-day*), estas la dudek kvara de Decembro, kaj morgaŭ (*to-morrow*) estos la Kristnasko (*Christmas*).

Nun estas la oka horo, ne jam la oka kaj duono.

In speaking of the hour, the ordinal number is usually used for the hours, and the cardinal for the added minutes.

Mi venos post la naŭa dek kvin. *I shall come after* 9.15.

11, Brentwood Avenue,
Timperley,
Cheshire.
16/12/21.

KARA KAMADO,—

Nia ĝroupon, deziras mi skribi al vi ĉar vi komencigis Esperanto en la *Drednought* mi ne komprenas kial la socia movado ne komencas Esperanto antaŭe tiu ĉi, kaj ni bonvenu vin tiel la unua persono kiu komencis ĝin. Mi pensas esas la plej bona afero por enpusi la revolutcion ĉar ĝi faras facile por la laborantojklason povas kompreninta unu la alian, mi ne konas ŝe vi povos traduki tiu ĉi able vi trovos iu fari la afero, denove dankon de nia groupon kun homarde salutoj mi restas.

Via tre sincere,
A. SHELDON.

Se vi deziros presigi tiu ĉi letteron vi povas ankaŭ nia groupon ne tute ruĝa.

—*Altrincham Esperanto Groups.*

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SPICE.

TRUTH WILL OUT.

As Mr. J. W. Gott, who had been sentenced to 9 months' imprisonment for blasphemy, was leaving the dock, Edward Leggatt, an organiser of the Vehicle Workers' Union, exclaimed, "Seventy times seven."

Mr. Justice Avory.—Who is that. Bring him forward.

Leggatt went into the witness-box.

Mr. Justice Avory.—What do you mean by saying, seventy times seven."

Leggatt.—"Love thine enemy and forgive him times seven."

Mr. Justice Avory.—You have been guilty of gross contempt of Court in making that exclamation, and I fine you £5 for it.

Leggatt asked what was the alternative.

The Judge.—You will go to prison.

A striking example of the hypocrisy of certain defenders of the Bible.

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THE OLD WISH.

We wish our readers "A Happy Christmas," but we do not anticipate a happy Christmas for them. Few families, indeed, are not still mourning some dear members lost to them in the war. Few households to-day are not facing reduced circumstances and financial embarrassments. Many thousands of homes have been broken up through unemployment. Many of our old comrades and readers are reduced to destitution.

From Battersea comes the news that many families are living under tarpaulin, and some have seized upon empty houses and are living there rent free. On this action we congratulate them: houses ought not to remain empty whilst people are left without homes. Yet the lot of the hungry families in the unfurnished buildings is a dismal one.

At Merthyr Tydfil, the Poor Law Guardians have decided that it is necessary to issue out-door Relief to the miners who are engaged on full-time work: other districts, both in and out of Wales, must certainly follow Merthyr's example.

Thus have "our Great Prime Minister," our "able Labour leaders" and our infamous capitalist system brought low our people. Meanwhile the mine owners are jubilating over a rising coal output.

The workers are being made to pay for the war; to pay in a lowered standard of living, in longer hours, in unemployment and insecurity of work.

Sir Eric Geddes' Economy Committee has been given the task of saving £200,000,000 in Government expenditure: it is said that education and old-age pensions are to be attacked.

Only the income-tax payer is shortly to obtain relief. Since but few of our readers are in a position to pay income-tax, this is a mercy upon which we can offer them no congratulations.

Therefore, whilst we desire a happy Christmas for our readers, there is no feeling of confidence in our wish that either the material conditions or the sight of comfortable faces around them can make our wish come true.

As to the Revolution, no doubt it is making progress, since its coming is as inevitable as the succession of night and day, but its progress at present is hidden from sight; its light is shrouded in the mists of apathy and reaction.

Yet to those who are revolutionaries, these days of discouragement, hard and acutely sad as they are, are less discouraging than to the millions of others who know no hope of change. We have an ever-radiant, self-renewing source of enthusiasm to sustain us. We know that these days of ugly poverty and cruel oppression will pass, and that beyond them lies the fraternity of Communist abundance.

Though the struggle is hard, and though, in its service, we may be forced to sacrifice more than we reckoned on, and in ways that we never contemplated, never thought would be part of our bargain with life when we took our place in the movement: though at times it appears that reaction, not progress, is all we shall meet in our time; yet we know that "something will come of it in the end."

THE IRISH FREE STATE.

The Downing Street Agreement is not what the Irish desire.

Their wishes are set upon an Irish Republic; they do not want Dominion Home Rule within the British Empire.

Yet the Agreement, unsatisfactory as it is, from their standpoint, is a triumph won by their brave, determined fight.

It shows that, after all, idealism, faith, and persevering courage are the strongest and most enduring things in life. They who are willing to stake their all will overcome the strongest and most powerful oppressions.

Yet De Valera is right; this Agreement will not satisfy Irish aspirations.

Arthur Griffith is satisfied with it, because, on the face of it, it permits Ireland to erect tariffs to protect Irish industries. He says he went to London to negotiate for peace, not on the basis of an Irish Republic, but on the basis of Ireland entering the Commonwealth of British nations. Arthur Griffith has, in fact, ceased to be a Sinn Feiner and has become merely a Home Ruler. Hence he says: "The Treaty is good enough." Arthur Griffith was the Sinn Feiner of Sinn Feiners, but the Sinn Fein movement as it has been known since the Easter Rebellion, has been a combination of Sinn Feiners and Fenians, and the Fenian spirit has been the dominant one.

Arthur Griffith was not in the Easter Rebellion of 1916, though the movement that grew from the rebellion was christened with the name of the Sinn Fein movement, of which he was the leader, and though after the rebellion he was admitted at once to a leading place in the rebel movement.

De Valera, who fought in the Rebellion, declares that the Downing Street Agreement is an ignoble one. Old Count Plunkett supports De Valera; many will support him. Even though Dail Eireann should ratify the Agreement, the movement for an Irish Republic will not be quenched. That movement draws its fire from many sources: the sentimental artistic love of the old Gaelic, deeply rooted in some natures; the language, the mythology, the ancient interlacing ornament, the old folk games and the songs and dances, the love of ancient things that belong to one's own race, and the desire to build up a distinctive Irish culture. This provides a sympathetic backing for the anti-British struggle; the old bitter hatred of the British domination, a hatred fanned into flame by the recent conflict, carries the masses with it, and discovers deep roots in every section of the people; aspirants to a more equal life, to the triumph over poverty, ignorance, exploitation, the co-operators, the industrialists have all fixed their hopes on a severance from British Capitalism.

The Protectionists, like Arthur Griffith, whose desire is to build up an Irish Capitalism, an echo, a rival of that which exists to-day in Britain, may be satisfied with the Agreement, but those who are rebels against the fundamentals of the present capitalist system and who, like James Conolly, regard them as a British product, demand a complete break with the British Empire.

Those who take a broad comprehensive view of the situation, know that so long as Britain's power remains great as at present, whether Ireland is called a Republic or an Irish Free State owning allegiance to King George, Britain will hold the power of compulsion over Ireland whenever a trial of strength arises between the two Governments.

Only the deep resistance of the people, and that only at great sacrifice, can withstand the demand of the stronger nation if the demand be pressed. As to the power to erect tariff barriers against British goods, granted by the Agreement, that may in practice be hedged around by many difficulties if British Capitalism is determined to fight it. Lloyd George indicated that Britain may retaliate by refusing to import Irish goods," which would mean that, to benefit the Irish manufacturer the Irish farmer will have to seek other markets for his produce. In a tariff war the small producer and the consumer always pay.

The Irish people may anticipate stormy times in the immediate future. Even should the Downing Street Agreement be ratified by the Dail and accepted by Ulster, the Irish people may not look for peaceful times, for the Irish employers of labour have announced that all wages agreements are to terminate at the end of the year; a determined effort will then be made to reduce substantially the already low wages. Though, doubtless, an appeal to patriotism towards the new Irish administration will be made to induce the workers to accept a reduction in their standard of living, and though such an appeal may have a strong effect upon certain Irish Trade Union leaders, wages can hardly be forced down much further without conflict. Ireland may begin 1922 with a general strike, and though an appeal to patriotism may obviate that, there will undoubtedly be both trouble and hardship for the Irish workers.

In their conflicts with the employers we may look to find them more and more militant, for the last five and a half years have developed their fighting tendencies by keeping them constantly at war. We desire to see the Nationalist struggle ended, in order that the class-consciousness of the workers may develop unchecked.

The fighting elements in the Belfast populace seems in no mood to accept peace with Southern Ireland, and even if peace be officially made, it will be some time before the turbulence there dies away. The situation is a peculiar one.

We can feel neither respect nor sympathy for the British politicians and their landlord and capitalist masters who might have obviated the tragic happenings of the last five years in Ireland, and the many, many years before that if only they had been willing to concede even so much as they are now congratulating themselves on having offered. Asquith, Lloyd George, "Galloper" Smith or Birkenhead, Chamberlain, Bonar Law, we place them all in the same category—they all refused till the prospect of a serious war, which the British public might not stand and British finance might not bear, gave them pause. Even now they refuse to accept the independent Irish Republic, which is the only real way to heal the old sore.

Rude old Lord Carson, clinging to the false old standard, is more respectable than these; he remains in his sinful nakedness as a reactionary, and does not cover himself, like these others, with a garb of sham righteousness.

The Labour Party, which has sat on the fence throughout this struggle, timidly following in the footsteps of Asquith and Lloyd George, and never openly committing itself to any definite proposal, now unctiously claims credit for the expected settlement. The servile praises of the King uttered by G. N. Barnes and J. R. Clynes in reply to the King's speech announcing the Agreement; their silly eulogies of the part in it played by the King's Belfast speech were fittingly rebuked by Winston Churchill's statement that the King's Speech was "put into his mouth" by his Ministers, according to the proper constitutional usage. Bluntly put, the King at Belfast was merely repeating, under orders, a speech written for him by the Cabinet.

Who would be a King?

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REVOLUTIONARY ESSAYS.

By PETER KROPOTKIN.

IV.

When we glance at the mass of Revolutionists, Marxists, Possibilists, Blanquists, or even bourgeois—because everyone partakes in the revolution which is now growing; when we see that the same parties (who answer, each, to certain manners of thinking, and not to personal differences—as is sometimes said), are found in each nation, under other names, but with the same distinctive characteristics; and when we analyse their principles, their aims and their methods—we find, with dismay, that they are all looking backward; that none dare face the future, and that each of these parties has but one idea: to reproduce Louis Blanc, or Blanqui, Robespierre, or Marat; they are all strong on the question of government, but equally powerless to bring forth a single idea capable of revolututionising the world.

All dream of dictatorship—the dictatorship of the proletariat, said Marx—that is to say, "of Tribunes, of ourselves," say the majority of the Blanquists and Possibilists, which comes to the same thing.

All dream of the Revolution as the legal massacre of their enemies; of the revolutionary tribunal, the public prosecutor, the guillotine, and their own employees, the hangman and the jailor.

All dream of acquiring power in an omnipotent, omniscent State, treating the nation as its subjects, governing the subjects by thousands and millions of functionaries who have received the authority of the State. Louis XVI and Robespierre, Napoleon and Gambetta dreamed of nothing more than Government.

All dream of representative government as "crowning the edifice" which is to succeed the revolution after a period of dictatorship.

All preach obedience to the law made by dictators.

All have only one dream, that of Robespierre: to massacre whosoever dare think otherwise than the chiefs of power. The Anarchist-Revolutionist and the reactionary would have to perish if he dare think and act contrary to their wishes.

All wish, under one form or another, the maintenance of property, whether private or administered by the State, and the right of using it and abusing it; of payment by results; of charity organised by the State. All dream, in fine, of killing all initiative of individuals and the people.

"To think," they say, "is a science, an art, which is not made for the people"; if, at a later stage, it should be permitted for the people to express themselves and try solutions which have not been discussed by our high priests. Marx and Blanqui have thought enough for our century, as Rousseau did for the eighteenth, and that which has not been foreseen by a schoolmaster, will not have any reason to exist.

This is the dream of 99 per cent of those who usurp the name of revolutionists. The Jacobin tradition stifles them, as the monarchical tradition stifled the Jacobins of 1793.

Likewise, if you attend a meeting of workmen who have received a so-called revolutionary education, but who have no idea of Anarchist propaganda, and if you ask them, "What is to be done during the Revolution," how many replies will you receive somewhat as follows: "To take possession of the houses of the wealthy; to burn the waste paper of the banks, the ministers and the counting-houses of the bourgeoisie; to destroy the prisons; to distribute food, and hand over a spade to every policeman and banker, and so forth."

How many so-called revolutionists dare publish these ideas without first referring to their leaders? There will be only one thing upon which all will speak at the first onset. This will be the massacre of the "enemies of the revolution," and he who promises to massacre most will be acknowledged, on the spot, as a true revolutionist, none the less for being as timid as a babe in speaking of the smallest measures which make revolutions. Food for powder yesterday, food for powder to-morrow—the people need not go beyond this, all the rest will be thought out in high places.

We have previously said that when a people revenge themselves upon those who have oppressed them so long, no one has the right to intervene and say what they should do. *He, alone, who himself has suffered ALL that the people have suffered, has the right to intercede with them on such an occasion.*

He alone who has heard his children cry from hunger, and seen them die of starvation; he who has slept under bridges and submitted to all the pangs, all the humiliation of misery, who has tramped the roads without lodgings or food, or rambled hungry in the snow during a Bourbaki retreat, while gentlemen slept in hotels—such a one, alone, has the right of pitying popular vengeance and interceding therein—he, the outcast of yesterday, in favour with his oppressors—and then!

Have not the people been taught vengeance for thousands of years? Has it not been made a sacred right, blessed by religion, and imposed by law—a goddess who in mutilating the body of the malefactor "re-establishes justice by outraging him." Has not everyone approved vengeance by legal assassination, and paid the hangman and the jailor?

Again, he, alone, would have full right to speak, who has the courage, under the present system, to smash the head of the executioner and the judge in broad daylight on the scene of execution. More, who have not done so, have simply to keep silence, it is as much as they ought dare to speak of pity. Because in their fearful days—like the days of September, those days of massacre—it is *their* education which speaks, it is *their* principle of legal vengeance which is put in practice, it is *their* contempt of human life that bears fruit.

It is a thousand years of Christian and Roman teaching, a thousand years of misery—the whole period of history—which speaks in these days. The rebel against all history has, alone, the right to protest against these terrible days.

But quite otherwise is the terror which denies its vindictive character, which sets itself up as a State principle, strutting in Revolutionary garments. It is that done which is dear to the Jacobin, because he knows that popular fury will subside with the first victims, and soon gives place to pity. He also requires pity to fill the gap of revolutionary thought, legal terror, as incarnation of the revolution.

To massacre the bourgeois is always easier said than done.

Because, alas, they are the majority of the nation—without offence to the boobys who expect to see such a concentation of capital that, according to their opinion, it will belong to none other than the proletarian masses, governed by half a dozen bourgeois. How many are there in France, bourgeois and wage receivers?

In counting all the wage receivers, including the salaried functionaries and lackeys, the salaried swells of the large warehouses and banks, the uniformed swells of the railways—all the clique, in fact of salaried persons, more bourgeois than the most arrogant bourgeois—the census of 1881 only finds, all told, seven million out of thirty-seven million of inhabitants. With their families, they make less than ten millions, and the remainder, perhaps seventeen millions, are bourgeois, with their families, those who possess, those who live by the work of others. If we deduct five millions of peasant proprietors, there will still remain *twelve millions of bourgeois*, without counting their valets, who live upon the labour of others.

Twelve millions in France, about fifteen millions in England, do the Jacobins intend to massacre the lot?

Marat demanded two hundred thousand aristocrats' heads; later, it appears, he spoke of half a million. But he was then only taking account of the past, he did not wish to strike at more than the aristocrats. How many heads do the modern Jacobins demand? And yet Thiers, who set himself up for the massacre of the masses, on principle, only succeeded in destroying 30,000 Parisians!

Thus, it is seen, Jacobinism reduces itself to absurdity.

"But we need not kill all the bourgeois," it is customary to reply. "A few hundred thousand will suffice to reduce the others to inactivity. Terror will drive them into the earth."

Well, this reasoning proves one thing; it is that, thanks to the fables set up by the Jacobins, the people have learnt nothing of their own history.

In the first place, it is when the Jacobin revolution was already dead for want of daring to go further, then, when it drove the people, that the reign of Terror was inaugurated, and it was precisely under the Terror that the disappointed little dandies took up the methds of brute force to proclaim the counter-revolution which was already established in three-fourths of France.

Edgar Quinet has explained it. It was because democracy did not wish to work by Terror. In order to learn how to use Terror with such results as the Catholic Church and kings have obtained, democracy would have to learn from Louis IX, John the Terrible, and the Czars of Russia. Democracy thought this a trifle too much; the people remained harmless, even while they danced the "Carmagnole" round heads fixed on pikes!

Kings and Czars do not in the least think it too much. They strike a blow and make others tremble for fear of worse. They do not promenade their victims in the street; they stifle them in prisons. Alexander the Third, when ascending the throne, chose five victims, one a woman, and had them hanged, and then regretted having them hanged in a public mortalise them under a curtain. The remainder are imprisoned at Schlusselbourg, and so well imprisoned, that, for ten years, no word or sign of life has come from them. He knows that the terror of the unknown acts more strongly upon minds than death in broad daylight in a public place.

Well, Quinet is a thousand times right when he says that the people will never know how to manage such a terror as this. It disgusts the people. And yet it is asserted that the people terrorise! They have pity on the victims, they are too sincere not to become soon disgusted. The Public Prosecutor, the death-cart filled with victims, the guillotine, soon inspire disgust. It is soon perceived that this terror prepares what it should prepare—Dictatorship—and the guillotine is abandoned.

The people do not reign by Terror. Invented to forge chains, Terror, covered by legality, forges chains for the people.

The Jacobin programme reduces itself to this: Extermination impossible, uselessness of legal terror.

In order to conquer, something more than guillotines are required. It is the revolutionary *idea*, the truly wide revolutionary conception, which reduces its enemies to impotence by paralysing all the instruments by which they have governed hitherto.

Very sad would be the future of the revolution if it could only triumph by terror. Happily it has other means, otherwise powerful, and we will state them.

(to be continued.)

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CHINA AND JAPAN.

"The Truth about China and Japan"* is the title of a new book by Mr. Putnam Weale. It is certainly an interesting work, and contains much information of value, but we must warn our readers against accepting it uncritically as "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," for Mr. Weale is labouring under strong prejudices; there are many aspects of the question that he refuses to see, and he is a firm upholder of the established order.

So deep in Mr. Weale is the commonest, strongest of obsessions, the acceptance of things as they are and incapability of conceiving change, that though he records in his book the history of Japan's inexcusable annexation of Korea; yet, when he comes to give his opinions of a just reconstruction of the East, he only proposes that Korea should be given "Home Rule" and administered under a mandate from the League of Nations.

Nevertheless, he is greatly opposed to Japan, and, indeed, his book is another of the many evidences that Japan is destined to be the Germany of the East, to be encircled and crushed by her jealous rivals because she has dared to compete with them as an equal in the arts of peace and war.

Mr. Weale may, nevertheless, be read with profit both for his knowledge and his prejudices, for they show clearly which way the wind is blowing.

His story of ancient China and Japan is a fascinating one. Lost in the far reaches of time is the date, probably more than six thousand years ago, when the Chinese migrated from near the Caspian Sea across the Arabian desert to the Yellow River. Excavations in the Honan province have revealed to modern eyes the primitive baked clay utensils of those remote people, including Noah's Arks of almost Biblical exactitude. Three thousand years before Christ the Chinese had already occupied most of what now comprises the Chinese provinces of Kansu, Shensi and Honan. Always migrating through the forests eastward towards the sea, the pictorial character which they made to stand for the East was the sun shining through trees and the word obstruction they represented as a tree barring a doorway. So they moved on clearing the forests before them, and developing from shepherd migrants into settled agriculturalists.

Already the Chinese nation was a very old one with strongly marked characteristics when the Emperor Chin Shih Huang-ti (249—206 B.C.) began the building of the Great Wall which was to protect pacific China against the inroads of the wild barbarian raiders from Central Asia, and burned the Chinese Classics because they were turning the thoughts of the people from the arts of war. Thus early was China a land of peace-loving scholars.

The island Japanese are partly descended from a double stream of immigrants who came from the mainland by way of Korea, one stream being Manchu-Korean and the other Mongol, but the strongest strain in the people is Malay. Under their outer garment, which comes from China, the women wear skirts of Malay origin, and the scurved Malay fishing boats are still in use in Japan. The Japanese clogs, wooden shoes with a separated big toe, are the invention of a bare-footed people, treading the forest trails and needing at a moment's notice to free their feet for tree climbing. They were a water-people who took to the forests, hunters and fishers, to whom agriculture was a recent acquisition. From their forest past has been handed down the *torii*, a curious structure originally made of tree trunks which, though sometimes mistaken for a gateway, was placed before the shrine of the sun goddess in order that birds might perch on it and salute at dawn the first rays of the rising sun. Mr. Weale gives this accepted theory of its origin, but perhaps originally it was built in order that the faithful human worshippers of the goddess might perform their devotions out of reach of the sudden spring of the wild beast.

The Japanese were an unletterd people; culture came to them from China. Between 57 and 247 A.D. it is recorded that they sent embassies to the Court of China. The Japanese written language by Chinese ideographs dates only from the seventh century, before that they made some borrowed use of Korean script. Priests and scholars now came in great numbers from China. Chinese Buddhism displaced the Japanese Shinto forest rights. A census in 814 A.D. amongst the Japanese nobility showed 382 Chinese and Korean families to 796 pure Japanese. China's governmental institutions were borrowed. At the beginning of the eighth century Japan's first capital was built at Nara on the Chinese plan. Chinese suzerainty was accepted without dispute for more than three hundred years.

But the Japanese were a warlike people; their their principal export came to be sword blades, and the cordiality between China and Japan steadily diminished from the fourteenth century.

China was suzerain also in Korea, and Korea was saturated with Chinese culture and customs. By the sixteenth century Japanese raids into the peninsula of Korea had become frequent. In 1592 Hideyoshi, who had overcome the other feudal chiefs and made himself first in Japan, gathered an army, immense for those times, of 300,000 men, with which he attempted to march through Korea to invade China. After many victories the Japanese were finally defeated after six years by the new Korean ironclads, heavily timbered ships built on the Chinese model, which they had sheathed with iron scales; and by the dead weight of great armies sent from China. The Japanese left behind them a mound in which the pickled noses and ears of 36,000 Chinese and Koreans lay buried. It is always the atrocities of the Japanese of which Mr. Putnam Weale has to tell. His book is a part of the propaganda that will gradually create an anti-Japanese sentiment in this country.

Nevertheless, Mr. Weale is interesting, but be careful to read between his lines for yourself. Japan, remember, the young unfolding nation, was struggling to free herself from the ancient empire, whose civilisation was changing little; the empire that held her as a vassal. China constantly claimed supremacy; Japan as constantly was rejecting that claim by force of arms. Hideyoshi defeated the Chinese empire, old in diplomacy and its arts, which forced upon him acceptance of this document:—

> "The influence of the holy and devine one (Confucius) is widespread; he is honoured and loved wherever the heavens overhang and the earth upbears. The Imperial Command is universal; even as far as the bounds of ocean where the sun rises, there are none who do not obey it.
>
> "In ancient times our ancestors bestowed their favours on many lands. The tortoise knots and the dragon writing were sent to the limits of far Fusang (Japan), the pure alabaster and the great seal character were granted to the mountains of the submissive country. Thereafter came billowy times when communication was interrupted, but an auspicious opportunity has now arrived, when it has pleased us again to address you.
>
> "You, Toyotomi Taira Hideyoshi, having established an Island Kingdom, and knowing the reverence due to the central land, sent to the West an envoy, and with gladness and affection offered your allegiance. On the North you knocked at the barrier of Yan Mousand li, and earnestly requested to be admitted within our dominions. Your mind is already confirmed in reverent submissiveness. How can we grudge our favour to so great meekness?
>
> "We do therefore specially invest you with the dignity of King of Japan, and to that intent issue this our commission. Treasure it up carefully. Over the sea we send you a crown and a robe, so that you may follow our ancient custom as respects dress. Faithfully defend the frontier of the Empire; let it be your study to act worthily of your position as our minister; practice moderation and self-restraint; cherish gratitude for the Imperial favour so bountifully bestowed upon you; change not your fidelity; be humbly guided by our admonitions; continue always to follow our instructions. Respect this!"

The modern diplomacy of the West can show no more perfect example of polished hypocrisy.

In 1542 a Portuguese junk had been blown from her course, and stormbound on the Japanese coast. The sailors had been well received, and their arquebuses copied for use in the war with China and Korea. The sailors took home the news of Japan, and were soon followed by missionaries and traders. At first all went well, but in 1587 Hideyoshi propounded the following questions to the Jesuits:—

> "Why had they constrained Japanese to become Christian converts? Why had they overthrown Buddhist temples? Why did they persecute the bonzes? Why did they eat animals useful to man? Why did they allow their merchants to buy Japanese and make them slaves in the Indies?"

The replies being unsatisfactory, it was decided to expel the foreigners, but considerations of trade delayed the carrying out of the edict for at least ten years.

Franciscan Spaniards soon came as rivals of the Portuguese Jesuits. A Spanish galleon being wrecked off Japan, the pilot showed the Japanese a map of the world, on which the vast extent of the Spanish possessions was marked. Asked how one country had acquired such great dominions, he said:—

> "Our kings begin by sending into the country they wish to conquer missionaries, who induce the people to embrace our religion, and when they have made considerable progress, troops are sent to combine with the new Christians, and then our kings have not much trouble in accomplishing the rest."

This led to further steps being taken in the exclusion of the foreigner, and the stamping out of the new Christianity in Japan. An exception was made for the Dutch, but they were not allowed to hold any religious services, even on their ships; and their rudder, guns, and ammunition were removed, and their sails sealed during their visits. No Japanese was allowed to build ships capable of navigating the high seas. Japan was thus shut off from the outer world till Perry, the American, appeared 217 years later. The story of early Christian intercourse with China is similar to that with Japan, though they reached China earlier, and were never entirely expelled, although edicts of expulsion were issued. As Mr. Putnam Weale says: "Until atrocities and arquebuses became synonymous terms the fair-faced foreigners were not restricted."

China, the suzerain over many peoples, was itself more than once conquered by alien rulers, notably by Kublai Khan and his Tartars in 1259, and by the Manchus in 1644.

(*To be continued.*)

* George Allen and Unwin. May be obtained through the *Workers' Dreadnought*.

THE CONCESSION POLICY IN RUSSIA

N. Petromir writes in the Vienna *Rote Fahne*, December 1: "Soviet Russia instituted a few weeks ago a State Bank that has taken over the financial part of the concessions."

According to *Isvestia*, the negotiations of the Soviet Republic with the American United Company for medicaments and chemical preparations are nearing a conclusion. The Americal syndicate is negotiating for a concession of the asbestos deposits of Alapajewsk in the Ural.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung* announces as to these negtiaotions that the obstacles lie in the insistence of the Soviet Republic on the retention of all the social gains for the workers employed in the undertakings. Thus the Soviet Republic demandsE—

1. The syndicate shall acknowledge the "Workers' Protection Legislation."

2. All disputes are to be submitted to the Russian judicial authorities.

3. The company is bound to introduce the most modern technical appliances into the industry.

4. The number of employees must consist at the lowest of 50 per cent. Russians.

As to production and the financial side, the following agreements have been reached:—

5. Production, which before the war reached 50,000 poods, must be raised in the course of 5 years to 160,000 poods.

6. The company has to deliver free to the Soviet Republic 10 per cent. of the produce or pay the corresponding world-mark price in foreign values. (But only the Soviet Republic has the right to choose between the national tribute and the gold payment.)

7. The company deposits 50,000 dollars as security in the State Bank.

This agreement holds for 20 years, but the Soviet Republic has the right, after 5 years, to give six months' notice to terminate the agreement and buy back the undertaking, when the plant reverts to the State for an agreed compensation. But if the agreement remains in force for 20 years, the Soviet State shall receive back the undertaking with plant, without paying compensation, and the company its deposit of 50,000 dollars."

HOW THE CZAR FOUGHT THE FAMINE.

In a number of *Vorwärts seventeen years ago* appeared an interesting report of the methods of the infamous Russian Police-Minister, Plehve, in "fighting" the famine, from which the following is an extract:—

"Plehve discovered an excellent means of putting an end to the famine; he isolated the starving from any contact with the rest of the world, and *ordered them to be silent.* With draconian measures he smothered the cries and groans of the people who were dying of hunger, and then he reported most respectfully, 'There is no famine,' because there were no cries and groans of the starving to be heard. In fact, the press had received the command to be silent, the Zemstvo was restrained from rendering any help to the famine sufferers, and through the wall of police authorities with which the populace was surrounded, no single sound penetrated; it seemed as if the silence of death reigned over everything; then agrarian revolts followed. But even then Plehve did not lose his presence of mind; with the knout and the bayonet he again instituted silence and drove the people to death . . . "

IN THE INTERESTS OF PEACE—AND OF PROFITS.

The Workers' Committee of the firm of Krupp in Essen sent a letter to the French General Rollet, protesting against the indiscriminate destruction of useful means of production in the Krupp factory. They state that the workers of Krupp's hold it self-evident that all special machinery that was only used for the production of war material should be destroyed in the interests of peace, and that they, for their part, are firmly determined to refuse all production of munitions of war. But the workers in a certain department had recently been informed by the management that a considerable quantity of machinery used purely for the production of peace-materials was, on the order of the Inter-Allied Commission to be given up for reparations, or to be destroyed. The workers are highly indignant, and regard this as a blow at their livelihood. The Workers' Council has made inquiry and found that in the department in question, even in pre-war times, 50 per cent. of the production was peace-material; since the war it has consisted exclusively of peace-material.

Furthermore, they have ascertained that the machines to be destroyed are in full employment and the best in the industry.

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PROLETARIAN SCHOOLS.

By Tom Anderson.

For the past six weeks the *Glasgow Herald*, the leading "master-class" paper of Scotland, has had an open letter correspondence trouncing the proletarian schools.

Mr Gideon Murray, M.P.

Set the ball arolling. Mr. Murray had asked the Home Secretary in the House of Commons, "Could the proletarian schools not be suppressed, as they were teaching sedition." The Home Secretary said, "In the meantime he thought it was not practicable."

Mr. Murray, being the M.P. for St. Rollock Division of Glasgow, thought he would appeal to the Christian readers of the *Glasgow Herald*. So he writes several pathetic letters just to warn the Christians of Glasgow not to send their children to the proletarian schools. That's not a joke; it appeared in the *Glasgow Herald*. Mr. Murray, M.P., is a *Christian or Christian capitalist*, and his heart is very sore. I don't think. However, it appears to be. He says we don't believe in God. Which? might I ask him. He might make sure on that point. Is it his God! In the way and manner he believes in Him. If so, *No!* We believe in all Gods; that is to say, we believe the people of the various epochs, believed them to be real and tangible. They were their Gods, of that there is no doubt. Were they the true Gods. Of the period, yes! Does Mr. Murray, M.P., know that his God was once a stone. If not, he might consult the late Grant Allen's "Evolution of the Idea of God." he can purchase that book for 1s. at the *Dreadnought* Office.

Why do these wily, ignorant men always attack us about not believing in their God? For the answer read our Tenth Maxim carefully.

The Tenth Maxim.

> "Thou shalt remember that the economic structure of society determines the legal and political super-structure, and the social-ethical, religious and intellectual life-process in general. It is not men's consciousness which determines their life; on the contrary, it is the *social life which determines consciousness*."

Do you see any sedition in that; does Mr. Murray understand it; I don't think so. Here is the maxim he understands. Number 2.

> 2. "Thou shalt not be a patriot, for a patriot is an international blackleg. Your duty to yourself and your class demands that you be a citizen of the world."

Even this maxim he does not understand. *A citizen of the world*. How could an ignorant Scotsman be a citizen of the world. A Scotsman that owns time wage-slaves. You might as well expect Mr. Bernard Shaw to believe that Jesus died for him. Fancy, Jesus dying for Bernard Shaw. And Mr. Murray, M.P., a Christian. There are some things possible in this world, but that is an impossible thought.

We had also a real knight taking part in the letter writing; he made his fortune out of coal. Not hawking it. No! No! hawking coal is only for Christian wage-slaves.

No great man ever does manual labour, that would be degrading. He only goes to the office, and looks at the ledger and smiles. Good, £100,000 this year, excellent. This excellent Christian is called

Sir D. M. Stevenson,

a late ex-Provost of the City of Glasgow. He says we must not confound the Socialist Sunday Schools with the proletarian schools. Then he gives the "Precepts" of the S.S.S., and then the maxims of the proletarian schools.

We are bad, very bad; so bad, indeed, that we ought to take some interest in the S.S.S. so as to counteract the damnable teaching of the P.S. It is very sad, Sir Daniel; very, very sad. How is coal selling just now? Do you see the point. We tell the children about coal; yes, about coal, and pig-iron and food and railways; and factories and wage-slaves working and keeping the parasites. And Mr. Gideon Murray, M.P., is a parasite; so is Sir D. M. Stevenson. See, they are angry, well-groomed, cultured gentlemen: parasites. Send the blasphemers to prison. And the judge says, "a clear case, 12 months' hard." And Jesus died for me just as well as Mr. Gideon Murray, M.P. But if they are interested; if they would tell the Christians of Glasgow about us; if they would like to get "Henry Dubb" to strike us with a brick, I will give them the opportunity. And I here challenge either of the two of them to meet me in debate in the City Hall of Glasgow on our

Tenth Maxim,

Or if Mr. Gideon Murray, M.P., prefers it, I will meet him in any large hall in London or Manchester.

We have nothing to hide. We want the working class to know our message. But I am afraid these champions of patriotism will funk it, and tender some tame excuse. Failing either of them, I am prepared to meet any member of the master class in this country on our tenth maxim. I do stipulate, whoever he may be, he must be a man with a knowledge of the subject under discussion. Let us hear from you soon. I nearly forgot I also include the ladies, and if her ladyship, Lady Griffith Boscawen, would do us good and bring us back to the fold I shall be delighted to travel to London to debate with her, and we shall ask Bernard Shaw to be chairman. What do you think, my lady?

What is a proletarian school? What do they teach? A proletarian school is a school conducted by one or more Grown-Ups, who accepts and teaches the "Materialist Conception of History." The basic principles of the teaching are contained in the "Ten Proletarian Maxims." What, you may ask, is the "Materialist Conception of History?" You will find the answer to that in the tenth maxim. Even with this clear concise definition the cultured people of this country say the entirely opposite. They say we are anti-Christian, anti-patriotic, anti-British, anti-everything which stands for our present social order. They say we are beasts, revolutionists, low degraded human beings, capable of doing any atrocious deed. Why this terrible onslaught on us. The reason is obvious to any thinker. They are afraid that our teaching may affect in the near future the present social fabric.

Our teaching is based on science, and we refuse to accept any statement which cannot be tested by the knowledge of the world which men have acquired.

Do we love, do we believe in charity, in marriage, in honour and duty. Yes, we believe these are attributes of the race, and not of any specially revealed religion. Love is the most beautiful thing in the world. Sympathy has been growing in the human race for nearly a million years now, and it is yet not very strong; but it will grow, and when it blooms in full, there will not be a starving man, woman or child in the world. Marriage is in the same category as the others. We believe the present marriage form is the best suited to the development of this race as we find them to-day, for we must remember in the mass we are still beasts. It will require a change in our economic order before we can produce a higher type. Patriots; we are not patriots. The world in the true sense is our country; all men are our brothers. Honour, truth, justice; we say of the man or woman who is a liar, that they are a "bred back," and ought to be treated for the malady as if it were smallpox. Truth is the emblem of every evolved man and woman. Justice is an abstract word and it may mean anything. To-day justice is the power of might,—force,—after we have answered all these questions; they attack us on religion. You don't believe in God and Jesus and the Holy Bible, they say. Why do they say this. They use this weapon knowing that the mass of the working class are ignorant and superstitious, and they expect the mass to down us. We have no objection to any man or woman's religion. In fact, it gives us so little concern that we think more of the religion of the natives of Central Africa than we do of the religion of the people of the British Empire. Let us be plain on this question of religion. There is no true religion; there is no true God or Saviour. There is no heaven or hell, or saints or angels. Man has made them all, and man will change them all. Every epoch sees a marked improvement for the better—a step upwards—I can look back 50 years and the religion of my boyhood days is as different from the religion of to-day as the political parties are. I think this will be self-evident to any thinking person. As the founder of the proletarian schools I would like to tell all the good people of Britain who howl against us, that I am the father of four children, and I have never struck a child in my life. Somehow I feel I would be a beast if I struck a child. When I pass in our city sisters of my class selling their bodies for bread, I feel ashamed of the human race, as I pass through the workingclass districts of our city I often say to myself, "Great God, and this is Christianity." Everything I see around me is so ugly and disreputable that I often feel God made a mistake in making man.

I shall be very pleased to answer any questions regarding our schools, and if you are interested and would care to start one, write me a personal note to 24, Queen Mary Avenue, Glasgow.

SCOTTISH "WORKER" DENOUNCES MOSCOW POLICY.

John S. Clarke, editor of *The Worker*, is to be congratulated on his outspoken denunciation of the proposal that the Communist Party shall help to assist the Labour Party into power and shall form a Parliamentary *bloc* with the Labour Party.

We notice, with appreciation, that Comrade Clarke has shown the courage, not merely to attack W. Paul's advocacy of the plan, but also Lenin's advocacy of it, for W. Paul, after all, is merely echoing the views of Lenin as exposed in his "Left Childishness" pamphlet. The Third International has officially adopted the policy outlined in "Left Childishness," not merely for Britain, but internationally. The sooner that fact is appreciated the better. It naturally costs an ardent revolutionary much serious thought and consideration to break with the Third International, which is the creation of the Russian Revolution; but those who are convinced that this policy, the policy of the Third International is wrong, must make that break, because if they continue to work openly and wholeheartedly against this policy, the Third International will expel them.

Tom Bell, in the *Communist*, has opposed Paul's "Are we Realists?" article; but he has done so in a half-hearted manner. Bell quite fails to understand the position, and proposes an absolutely negative policy. He assents to the affiliation of the Communist Party to the Labour Party, yet opposes the formation of a working alliance between the two Parties; yet of course, affiliation means a more definite merging of the Communist Party in the Labour Party than such a proposal as Paul's without affiliation.

We may assume that Bell assents to the affiliation proposal because otherwise he could hardly accept a position in the Communist Party of Great Britain, which stands for that policy, and which has expelled members who agitate against it. Moreover, in his reply to Paul, he says that the Communist Party should oppose the leading "reactionaries in the Labour Party for their treacherous conduct in isolating the C.P. from the Labour Party and denying its claim to be a section of the Labour Movement." These phrases seem to indicate that he desires to see the Communist Party affiliated to the Labour Party. It should be observed that whilst the Labour Party refuses the affiliation of the Communist Party Bell wishes to oppose the election to Parliament of certain selected reactionary Labour leaders, but rather to assist the return of the other Labour Party candidates.

If the Labour Party accepts the affiliation of the Communist Party Bell's proposal to oppose the more reactionary Labour leaders would, of course, fall to the ground. The Communist Party would share responsibility for the candidatures of the leading reactionaries. Bell says the C.P. ought not to merge its identity in an alliance with the Labour Party, which he describes as "an avowed anti-Communist and bourgeois reformist outfit," but that is exactly what affiliation would mean.

But here we must ask you, Comrade Bell, a pertinent question, a question in which either your political intelligence or your political integrity is deeply involved. This policy of forming a *bloc* with the Labour Party, of helping the Labour Party into power is not William Paul's policy; you know that just as well as we do, Comrade Bell; it is Lenin's policy, as he clearly explains it in his "Left Childishness," and in many another utterance. It is the policy of the Third International. We hoped that the Third Conference might reverse the decision of the second on maturer consideration, but the Third Conference merely accentuated the decision of the second in this respect.

But you, Comrade Bell; did you oppose Lenin's policy, the Executive policy on this question of a political alliance with the Labour Party when you were in Moscow representing the Communist Party of Great Britain? Did you oppose it when you assisted in the deliberations of the Executive Committee of the Third International, which has sent out manifestoes on this very question?

Let us take your mind back also a little further, Comrade Bell. Were you not a member of the first Unity Negotiations Committee, at which were represented the B.S.P., the W.S.F., the South Wales Socialist Society, and the split from the S.L.P., called the Unity Group. Were you not a representative of the S.L.P. Unity Group in the conference negotiations? Do you not remember the voting on the question of affiliation to the Labour Party?

For Affiliation.

B.S.P.	3 votes.
For Affiliation	3

Against Affiliation.

W.S.F.	3 votes.
S.W.S.S.	3 votes.
S.L.P. (Unity Group)	3 votes.
Against Affiliation	9

The resolution for affiliation to the Labour Party was therefore lost.

What happened then, Comrade Bell?

Another meeting was called. The South Wales Socialist Society delegates did not come. The notice was short. There is some doubt as to whether their delegates were instructed.

The S.L.P. Unity Group (McManus took the initiative) moved to rescind the anti-Labour Party affiliation motion of the previous meeting. There voted:

To Rescind the Motion.

B.S.P.	3 votes.
S.L.P. Unity Group	3 votes.
For Rescinding	6

Against Rescinding.

W.S.F.	3 votes.
Against Rescinding	3

Then it was moved that the Communist Party affiliate to the Labour Party. There voted:—

For Affiliating.

B.S.P.	3 votes.
S.L.P. Unity Group	3 votes.
For Affiliating	6

Against Affiliating.

W.S.F.	3 votes.
Against Affiliating	3

The W.S.F., represented by those who control the *Workers' Dreadnought* to-day, had remained steadfast; the S.L.P. Unity Group, represented by Paul, MacManus, Bell, had changed its coat. Why? Was it because the Unity Group had been told that the resolution against affiliation to the Labour Party would be displeasing to Moscow. No one can be prevented from handing their brains and their consciences over to the keeping of Moscow; but let us clearly understand that it IS Moscow, and not some stray and vacillating echoes in this country with which we are actually dealing.

Let us clearly understand that to affiliate to the Labour Party and to accept its constitution and programme is to form a *bloc* with the Labour Party.

We have seen what affiliation with the Labour Party has meant to the I.L.P. Labour Party discipline will be much more strongly enforced against the Communist Party than was ever the case with the I.L.P.

HAVELOCK WILSON EXPELS THE REDS.

Have you heard, Fellow Worker, that Havelock Wilson's Seamen's and Firemen's Union began turning its Red members out some time ago?

In Hull, a short time ago, a resolution was sprung on the Branch of the Union, without notice: "That the brothers Beech are not fit and proper persons to belong to this Union." The resolution was carried, though no charge was made against the brothers Beech, and they asked in vain for an explanation.

Dick and Charlie Beech are well-known in the Communist and Workers' Committee movements; they are Red, altogether too Red for Havelock Wilson and his fraternity, so out of the Union they had to go. It was decided to repay them all the money they had paid into the Union, but since the Beech brothers were expelled, other Reds have been turned out without even that much fairness being shown to them.

The other day the Seamen's section of the Red Labour Union International of Moscow sent an appeal to the Reds of this country to get into Havelock Wilson's Union and "bore from within."

"Boring from within" is a funny phrase, Fellow Worker; it does not mean "make a hole in the old ship and sink it," as you might expect, since that is really the only sensible thing to do with a rotten old hulk like Wilson's Union.

(Did you remember how Wilson wined and dined the thousand delegates of the Trade Union Congress and hosts of pressmen and others, a few years ago, Mr. Printer? Where did he get the money from? That is what you and I want to know; but Mr. Worker is so trusting; he never fosters the dark suspicions of which you and I are capable: not he, Mr. Printer!)

No, Fellow Worker, "boring from within" does not mean scuttling Wilson's corrupt old Union; it means climbing to the top, getting the official job. (Probably the Red International had not heard of the Hull expulsions.)

How is one to get the official job, Fellow Worker?

"By proving yourself as ready to sell the workers as the man who had it before you?"

That is how it is usually done, Fellow Worker; but the Reds have been shouting so loudly, that the old gang find it a bit too hard to trust them. The old gang thinks it is best to bore the Reds out, and they are doing it: they began with the brothers Beech.

The Parliamentary Communist Party made no noise when the Beech brothers were expelled: no doubt the Parliamentary Communists thought they would bore the Beeches back again in the sweet by and by.

Meanwhile, some of the "Pinks" were getting busy. You remember that Havelock Wilson recently took his Seamen and Firemen out of the Transport Workers' Federation. Robert Williams is not a Communist. The Communist Party expelled him recently; it found he was not Red at all, but only Pink.

Pink as he is, Robert Williams is Secretary of the Transport Workers' Federation, and, as Secretary, he could not tolerate such a weakening of the Federation as a withdrawal of the Seamen. Therefore he set to work with the other Pinks, some of whom are almost pale enough to be Whites, to form a new Seamen's Union to affiliate to the Transport Workers' Federation. The new Union is called a "One Big Union," like the I.W.W. Think what a nice Red name that is! Robert Williams is devoted to Red words. They are quite good enough for him, without any danger of Red deeds.

Now that Robert Williams and other orthodox Trade Union officials have formed a new Seamen's Union, the Parliamentary Reds are happy. Their policy does not allow them to form new organisations: they "bore from within." Now that the Pinks have been so obliging as to form a new Union for them, they can get inside and go on "boring within" without disturbance.

My advice to you, Fellow Worker, is not to waste your time learning to be a cunning politician; you will only be beaten if you do. The only permanent work you can do is to make your mates in the workshop Red, and get them linked up ready to take charge of the shop when the right time comes.

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